

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS/TOSEC 373

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS, JO, US

SUBJ: JORDANIAN/DOD MILITARY CONFERENCE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM DAVIES

1. YOU HAVE AGREED MEET JORDANIAN CHIEF OF STAFF, MAJOR GENERAL ZAID BIN SHAKER, MONDAY 24 DECEMBER. MEETING WILL COME IN AFTERMATH DOD ARMS CONFERENCE, WHICH JORDANIANS CONSIDER DISAPPOINTING. IN ADDITION BACKGROUND IN THIS CABLE, NEA WILL PROVIDE TALKING POINTS FOR YOUR MEETING. REQUEST GUIDANCE TO PARA 7 OPTIONS.

2. BACKGROUND: CONFERENCE WAS INTENDED FINALIZE FY 74 MAP PROGRAM AND PROJECT NEW PROGRAM TO FOLLOW THREE YEAR, DOLLARS 120 MILLION MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM BEGUN 1970 AND 1971. DOD SENT TEAM (WITH STATE REPRESENTATION) TO JORDAN IN APRIL 1973 TO STUDY FOLLOW-ON NEEDS. SUBSEQUENTLY STATE SENT DOLLARS 40 MILLION FY 75 MAP REQUEST TO OMB. GOJ REPEATEDLY ESCALATED ITS STATEMENTS OF NEEDS, HOWEVER,
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AND AFTER OCTOBER WAR -- AND TWO WEEKS BEFORE CONFERENCE -- PRESENTED DOLLARS 1.4 BILLION RPT BILLION LIST INCLUDING, FOR THE FIRST TIME, AIR DEFENSE MISSILES: HAWK, CHAPPARRAL, AND REDEYE. IN LIGHT OF LARGE JORDANIAN REQUESTS, STATE

CABLED THAT JANUARY CONFERENCE DATE WOULD BE PREFERABLE; BUT IF THEY PREFERRED WE COULD HEAR OUT THE JORDANIANS IN DECEMBER, ALBEIT WITHOUT MAKING DECISIONS. THEY OPTED FOR

DECEMBER DATE. YOUR GUIDANCE CALLED FOR US TO BE AS "FORTHCOMING AS POSSIBLE WITHIN CONGRESSIONAL RESTRAINTS" AND NOT TO LET DELEGATION LEAVE TOWN WITH "SOUR TASTE IN THEIR MOUTHS."

3. INCONCLUSIVE TALKS: CONFERENCE TOOK PLACE DECEMBER 17-18. WE OPENED BY MAKING CLEAR WE SOUGHT DETERMINE JORDANIAN REQUIREMENTS AND POSSIBLE USG OPTIONS AND WERE PREPARED LISTEN CAREFULLY AND SYMPATHETICALLY TO JORDANIAN REQUESTS. WE STATED WE WOULD OBVIOUSLY TAKE AS POINT OF DEPARTURE OUR PAST PLANNING ABOUT LEVELS OF FUNDING AND EQUIPMENT MIXES, BUT WE WOULD LOOK WITH OPEN MIND ON ANY RPT ANY JORDANIAN REQUEST. WE EXPLAINED CONGRESSIONAL RESTRAINTS BUT SAID USG WAS NOT ONLY WILLING BUT DETERMINED TO DO ALL IT COULD TO SUPPORT A CLOSE FRIEND LIKE JORDAN. WE EXPRESSED FULL AWARENESS OF JORDANIAN POLITICAL REALITIES AND OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT JORDAN FACED THREATS AND DECISIONS IN FUTURE AS DIFFICULT AS ANY FACED IN PAST. WE EMPHASIZED WE HAD MUTUAL INTEREST IN DEFENDING INDEPENDENCE, INTEGRITY AND SECURITY OF HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN. APPOINTMENTS WERE ARRANGED FOR BIN SHAKER WITH MR. CLEMENTS, ADMIRAL MOORER AND ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY DAVIES TO STRESS OUR ASSURANCES.

4. THE JORDANIANS, HOWEVER, DECLINED TO BREAK DOWN THEIR LIST INTO PRIORITIES OR INTO ANNUAL PACKAGES UNTIL WE PROVIDED A FIGURE FOR MAP AND CREDIT IN FY 75. THIS PRODUCED A KIND OF STALEMATE WHICH SEVERAL DOD MILITARY OFFICERS FOUND UNREASONABLE. AT END OF FIRST DAY, IN MOVE NOT CLEARED WITH STATE REPS, ONE DOD OFFICER HANDED SHARIF ZAID A FY 75 PROPOSAL WHICH SUGGESTED NO RPT NO AIRCRAFT OR AIR DEFENSE MISSILES WOULD BE INCLUDED. IT WAS CLEARLY A PACKAGE OF UNDER DOLLARS 40 MILLION. SHARIF
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ZAID WAS VISIBLY ANGERED BY THIS PROPOSAL. TALKS NEXT DAY WERE CLEARLY INCONCLUSIVE AND DISAPPOINTING TO JORDANIANS. ACTING SECRETARY RUSH, HOWEVER, BOTH CALLED AND WROTE MR. CLEMENTS TO SUGGEST A NUMBER OF WAYS (WHICH ARE MENTIONED BELOW) OF SALVAGING THE CONFERENCE.

5. AFTERMATH OF THE CONFERENCE: IN THREE DAYS THAT FOLLOWED THE CONFERENCE DOD, WITH PRODDING BY STATE, CAME UP WITH ATTRACTIVE PACKAGE FOR BIN SHAKER TO TAKE BACK TO AMMAN. IN MEETING WITH UNDER SECRETARY DONALDSON, ON THURSDAY 20 DECEMBER, BIN SHAKER SAID HE DISAPPOINTED WITH TALKS ON FY 75 BUT DECLARED HIMSELF SATISFIED WITH THE FY 74 PROGRAM AND THE FOLLOWING OTHER "SWEETNERS":

(A) AN FY 74 PROGRAM WITH TWO ITEMS -- 1000 M60 MACHINE

GUNS AND 36 TOW LAUNCHERS (PLUS MISSILES) -- WHICH JORDAN HAD SOUGHT AS PRIORITY SUBSTITUTES FOR OTHER ITEMS. (SEE PARA 8 FOR BACKGROUND ON TOW DELIVERY.)

(B) OFFER TO SELL 130 M48A1 TANKS AND ASSOCIATED EQUIPMENT AT A ROCK-BOTTOM PRICE OF DOLLARS 21,870 FOR EACH TANK. JORDAN WILL REHABILITATE THESE TANKS RATHER THAN SEEKING DIVERSION OF THE MORE MODERN M48A3 TANKS FROM U.S. ARMY STOCKS.

(C) OFFER TO SELL, WITH SHORTENED DELIVERY TIMES, ABOUT 600 ARMORED PERSONNEL AND MORTAR CARRIERS.

(D) IMMEDIATE DELIVERY OF 18 TOW LAUNCHERS BY AIR, WITH THE ASSOCIATED 324 MISSILES; OTHER 18 TO FOLLOW IN MARCH.

(E) OFFER OF 20 F-104 AIRCRAFT, AT NO COST, WITH AVAILABILITY IN 1975. THIS OFFER WAS UNEXPECTED AND VERY WELCOME.

(F) OFFER TO SEND AN AIR DEFENSE TEAM TO STUDY JORDAN'S NEEDS.

(G) PROMISE TO PROVIDE JORDAN IN THE NEAR FUTURE WITH
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FIRM FY 75 PROPOSALS, BASED ON CREDIT AND GRANT AID, AS PROVIDED BY CONGRESS AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

UNDER SECRETARY DONALDSON STATED HE HAD BEEN ASKED BY SECRETARY TO TAKE A PERSONAL AND DIRECT INTEREST IN JORDAN PROGRAM.

6. FINALLY, AT STATE INITIATIVE, AN INFORMAL RUMP SESSION WAS HELD IN THE WATERGATE HOTEL, WITH THE RESULT THAT THE JORDANIANS PRESENTED A SCALED DOWN (DOLLARS 26L MILLION) FY 75 REQUEST. THIS CONTAINS NO RPT NO AIR DEFENSE MISSILES, AND OFFERS GOOD BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS. DOD IS ACCORDINGLY THINKING OF SENDING AN ISA TEAM TO AMMAN AFTER NEW YEAR TO PRESENT USG PROPOSALS. THIS WILL ALLOW TIME FOR COORDINATION WITH YOU FOLLOWING OPENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

7. ANALYSIS AND POSSIBLE OPTIONS: JORDANIANS CAME WITH UNREASONABLE EXPECTATIONS AT A TIME WHEN WE WERE UNABLE MAKE COMMITMENTS. IN PART BECAUSE OF OUR OPENHANDEDNESS WITH THE ISRAELIS, AND THE SOVIET GENEROSITY WITH SYRIA AND EGYPT, THE JORDANIANS WERE GENERALLY INFLEXIBLE ABOUT

THEIR REQUESTS DURING THE FORMAL TALKS. DOD WAS RESPONSIVE,

HOWEVER, ALBEIT BELATEDLY. WHILE BIN SHAKER CONTINUES TO EXPRESS DISAPPOINTMENT, THIS IS IN PART A TACTIC. AT A MINIMUM, HE SHOULD NOW HAVE A MORE SOBER ESTIMATE OF OUR ABILITY TO RESPOND; HE SHOULD NOT RPT NOT HAVE ANY DOUBTS ABOUT OUR WILLINGNESS AND DETERMINATION TO DO SO TO THE FULLEST EXTENT POSSIBLE. THE USG IS NOW IN A POSITION TO DESIGN A PROGRAM TO PRESENT TO KING HUSSEIN TO ASSURE THE GOJ THAT WE WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO MEET JORDAN'S NEEDS IN THE COMING, CRUCIAL SETTLEMENT PERIOD. OUR OPTIONS IN THE MEETING WITH BIN SHAKER WOULD THUS SEEM TO BE AS FOLLOWS:

(A) REPEAT EARLIER ASSURANCES, AS AT THE CONFERENCE, WITHOUT MAKING ANY COMMITMENTS.

(B) INFORM THE GOJ THAT, DESPITE THE LACK OF A PRESIDENTIAL DECISION ON FY 75 BUDGET, WE EXPECT THE JORDAN PRO-
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GRAM TO HAVE AT LEAST THE DOLLARS 40 MILLION WE REQUESTED FROM OMB.

(C) STATE YOU WILL SEEK TO INCREASE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO JORDAN ABOVE THE DOLLARS 40 MILLION FY 74 LEVEL.

8. BACKGROUND ON TOW DELIVERIES: AFTER U.S. ARMY PROTESTS ABOUT DIVERTING ALL 36 TOW LAUNCHERS AND 648 MISSILES FROM ACTIVE UNITS, DOD AGREED TO AIRLIFT 18 LAUNCHERS (AND HALF THE MISSILES) TO JORDAN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. DELIVERY IS NOW SCHEDULED FOR DECEMBER 23, SUBJECT TO OVERFLIGHT CLEARANCES. THE NEXT 18 LAUNCHERS AND MISSILES WILL BE TAKEN FROM PRODUCTION AND SHOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR SHIPMENT IN MARCH. CHIEF OF STAFF BIN SHAKER ASSENTED TO THESE ARRANGEMENTS EVEN THOUGH THE GOJ HAD EARLIER BEEN TOLD THAT ALL THE MISSILES AND LAUNCHERS WOULD BE AIRLIFTED AT ONCE. THE EMBASSY IN AMMAN HAS BEEN NOTIFIED, AND SHOULD THUS BE ABLE TO RELIEVE THE PRESSURE FROM THE KING TO GIVE ASSURANCES OF EARLY DELIVERY DOD WILL ALSO RUSH A TRAINING TEAM TO JORDAN AND THE JORDANIANS, WHILE GETTING LESS THAN THEY ONCE EXPECTED, WILL PROBABLY BE ABLE TO DEPLOY THIS WEAPON TO THE FIELD WITHIN THREE WEEKS. RUSH

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